Elections are an opportunity to ensure that leaders respond to the needs of all citizens. Photo by Trevor Davies
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Acknowledgements

Gender Links (GL) would like to acknowledge the Polytechnic of Namibia (PON) who worked in partnership with GL to ensure that gender was central to the Namibian election. Emily Brown, Head of the Media Technology Department at PON spearheaded the GL Gender, media and elections project in Namibia.

The Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) conducted the monitoring of the media coverage of the November 2009 elections. Their work has provided insight on gender bias in the coverage.

Special thanks to Patricia Made, independent media consultant, who conducted the gender, elections and media workshops in Namibia. Made wrote the workshop report. GL Executive Director Colleen Lowe Morna, Deputy Director Kubi Rama and Editor Danny Glenwright edited the report.

The project was made possible with finding from UKaid through the Department for International Development (DFID).
1. OVERVIEW

Synopsis

This report provides a comprehensive overview of the gender, elections and media project run by Gender Links (GL), in partnership with the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) in Namibia during the November 2009 elections.

The project forms part of a region-wide campaign to increase women’s political representation and participation in line with the 2008 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development that aims to achieve gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2015.

GL conceptualised the project, including tracking countries conducting elections and organising training, while GEMSA conducted the media monitoring. The project covers all the SADC countries having elections at national, provincial and local level between 2009 and 2011. These include: South Africa, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Mauritius, Tanzania and Lesotho.

The November 2009 national elections in Namibia witnessed a backslide as women’s
representation in parliament dropped from 30.8 to 24.4%. This is despite the fact that the country has signed and ratified the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development, which sets a target of 50% for women’s representation in parliament by 2015. The country is left with one national election (2014) before 2015.

Only 16 women won seats in the 78 member national assembly. Fifteen of these women are from the ruling South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO). During the national elections 72 seats were allocated to SWAPO and the other parties contesting the elections. The law gives the Namibian President the powers to appoint six additional members. The President appointed three additional women bringing the total representation of women to 19 (24.36%).

Failure to advance towards parity is largely due to the fact that there are no deliberate efforts by the country’s electoral bodies or parties to advance women. For example there are no legislated quotas at national level. The only quotas exist at local government level. Legislated quotas at national level could contribute significantly to levelling the playing field.

**Objectives**

The project aimed to:

- To establish a student multimedia news service offering print, radio, television and online content before, during and after the Namibian nation elections. The content will include analysis, feature and news stories from the perspectives of women and men in rural, urban and peri-urban communities to the national, regional and global media. Gender will be mainstreamed in all stories.
- To provide students with a platform to acquire practical journalistic skills.
- To provide citizens in communities with the opportunity to make their voices heard on critical issues relating to elections.
- To increase issue based coverage of the election as opposed to event driven coverage.
- To increase the number of women sources in election coverage in the media.
- To mainstream gender in election coverage in the media.
- To empower women politicians to engage with the media in a constructive and mutually beneficial way.
- To contribute towards the development of critical analysis skills for elections for senior student journalists and NGOs.
- To contribute towards sustaining the PON Echoes News Service.
Country context

Namibia is located in south-western Africa. It borders Angola to the north, Botswana to the east, South Africa to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. Its area is 825,418 sq km with a population of 2,100,000 (2007 UNDP estimate). Approximately 35% of the population live in urban areas with the 65% living in rural areas. Women constitute 51% of the population are women and men 49%.

English is the official language of Namibia; while Oshiwambo is spoken in 48% of households, Nama/Damara and Afrikaans in 11%, Rukwangali in 10% and Otjihero in 8%.

Namibia obtained independence on 21 March 1990, with Sam Nujoma as president. The president is the head of state and is elected through a national election every five years. In order to be elected as president the winning candidate must receive more than 50% of the votes cast. According to the Constitution, which was adopted in 1990, the president is limited to serving two five-year terms, however in 1998 an additional clause was added allowing Nujoma to serve three terms.

The parliament of Namibia consists of two houses: the National Assembly (NA) which has 72 elected seats and 6 appointed seats, and the National Council (NC) which consists of 26 members, two from each of the country’s 13 regions.

Namibia has three different electoral systems. In presidential elections the candidate that receives the most votes is elected as long as the candidate has more than 50% support. In National Assembly and Local Authority elections a proportional representation (PR) system with party lists is used. For Regional Council elections the first-past-the-post or plurality system applies. Namibia held its first internationally recognised election in 1989 under UN supervision. It has since held regular national, regional and local elections. The most recent presidential elections took place in November 2009, with all three levels of government holding elections.

Fourteen political parties contested for seats in the November 2009 elections. The main opposition party, Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP), which was formed in 2007, contested the elections for the first time, and won 8 seats.

Founded by Hidipo Hamutenya and several other former SWAPO members, the RDP replaced the Congress of Democrats (CoD) and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)-Namibia as the major opposition to SWAPO, which has ruled the country since independence.
The observer mission of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) declared the presidential and national elections as free and fair. Some 120 SADC observers constituting 17 teams covered all of Namibia’s 107 constituencies.

**Gender, politics and the media**

Generally female politicians have a difficult relationship with the public and the media, often bearing the brunt of negative media portrayal compared to their male counterparts. On the other hand, some members of the media have argued that women politicians are less accessible than their male counterparts. This project, therefore, brings women politicians and the media together to engage honestly and constructively on issues of mainstreaming gender in political coverage.

GL, in partnership with the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), undertook the Gender and Media Baseline Study in 2003 that formed the backdrop of the Gender and Media Summit in September 2004. This led to the formation of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, with GL and MISA as founding institutional members.

GL has since conducted the Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS), a follow up to the GMBS.

**Figure one: Women and men as news sources GMBS and GMPS – Namibia and region**

![Figure 3.3: Women as news sources - Namibia vs SADC](image)

As illustrated in figure one, the GMBS found that women constituted 17% of news sources in Southern Africa (19% in Namibia). In the 2010 Gender and Media Progress Study (GMPS) the proportion of women sources increased from 19% to 20% in Malawi and from 17% to 19% in
the region. As is evident in the graph Namibia has not made many gains in the proportion of women sources since the GMBS. Namibia seems to have reached a plateau.

Similar results are evident in South Africa (GMBS-19%; GMPS-20%); Mauritius (GMBS-17%; GMPS-19%) and Swaziland (GMBS-17%; 19%). Women’s voices in topic politics are largely absent. In the GMPS women constituted 18% of those speaking on politics, 13% in the region.

**Key components**

The Echoes Polytechnic Student News Service: Elections Special Edition project, based at the Polytechnic of Namibia (PON) and staffed by journalists from the PON, was implemented in two phases with accompanying activities that were designed to provide a holistic the gender, elections and the media agenda.

**Phase one**

- A team of 15 student journalists and lecturers under the supervision of an editor were trained on integrating gender into their stories gathered from the field. The team was divided into five teams of three. Each team will go on two field visits to different parts of Namibia to find out what the communities’ expected from the election, if government had delivered their promises and what their service delivery needs are.
- Training women politicians on working with the media, producing content for the media and using the media effectively.
- A public debate on the topic “Should Namibia adopt legislated quotas for women’s representation in political parties?” was held in September 2009. The debate provided a platform for women politicians to articulate their views, student journalists with content and provide ordinary citizens a way to engage with critical issues relating to the elections.

**Phase two**

- The students who were working in the news agency during phase one began examinations during the third week in October 2009. To continue the news service senior students who were not writing examinations worked in the news service. During this period leading up to the election the service provided information and critical analyses on the pre, during and post election scenario.
- A group of students and representatives from civil society organisations were trained to conduct analyses of party manifestos, lists, campaigns, election predictions, election results and composition of parliament from a gender perspective. The civil society organisations were available as commentators and sent out regular press releases based on their analyses.
Ongoing activities in phases one and two

- There were three evaluations during the project period, a midterm debrief, an evaluation of phase one and a final evaluation of the project.
- The evaluations included:
  - Content analysis of stories produced and debriefing based on the findings.
  - An analysis of pick-up of the content produced by the news service.
  - A SWOT analysis of the news service with a view to assessing how to build a sustainable news outlet run by students at the Polytechnic of Namibia.
  - A media monitoring exercise will provide data on the extent and depth of gender in election.

Outputs

- Print stories
- Audio visual stories
- Audio stories
- Online stories
- Wire service for mainstream media
- A page in the mainstream media every week
- Personal accounts of participants
- Gender and elections analyses
- Monitoring data
- 18 journalism students training on mainstreaming gender in election reporting.
- 15 people from civil society organisations trained to do gender analyses of pre, during and post elections.

Outcomes

- Election coverage will include gender perspectives.
- There will be a substantial increase in the voices of women in election coverage.
- The voices and views of ordinary citizens at community level will add to the public discourse around elections and the performance of those elected.
- Journalism and communication students will experience the real world of work and gain an understanding of how the journalism profession works.
- To get students engaged with the importance of including gender perspectives and women’s voices in all stories.

Lessons learned

- To ensure that women’s representation in governance increases in the local government election.
- To develop an ongoing engagement with media to ensure that women’s voices in media content increases.
Next steps

- Start working immediately with the media and politicians towards the next election.
- To lobby government, political parties and the electoral commission to put in place legislated quotas for women.
- Additional training on photo-journalism for journalism and media studies students.

This report is accompanied by the following annexes:

- **Annex A**: Echoes PON News Service Training Programme
- **Annex B**: Echoes training handouts
- **Annex C**: Women in Politics programme
- **Annex D**: Women in Politics participants lists
- **Annex E**: Women in Politics Summary of evaluations
- **Annex F**: Civil society workshop programme
- **Annex G**: Civil society participants lists
- **Annex H**: Civil society press release
- **Annex I**: Civil society summary of evaluations
STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS

Media training

The Gender, Media and Elections 2009 project replicated a pilot study undertaken prior to the 2004 Namibian National and Presidential Elections. Trainee journalists in the Echoes Newsroom of the Department Media Technology were trained to cover the issues – through focus group research – theNamibian electorate were grappling with at the time. The reportage was done from a gender perspective. The photos which accompanied the stories reflected the gender dimensions and perspectives as addressed in the stories.

The training of the students started in August 2009 facilitated by Patricia Made, Gender Links consultant. While the initial list of students exceeded 20, and carried the names of several senior students, work arrangements prevented them from taking leave at this time.

A final list of 18 students worked in the Echoes News Agency. The final list was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>STUDENT NO.</th>
<th>CELL NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Georgia Kock</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200923501</td>
<td>0813856217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tofirei Dube</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200990489</td>
<td>0813218098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Linekela Halwoodi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200923285</td>
<td>0813298494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uerikoha Tjijombo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200972197</td>
<td>0812804599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shinovene Immanuel</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>200611674</td>
<td>0812129144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vimbai Karumazondo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200819062</td>
<td>0813005287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lukas Johannes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200667416</td>
<td>0813301188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Jimmy Rukanira</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200724819</td>
<td>0812298184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Goderich Sikwana</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200814923</td>
<td>0813320610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Selma Ikela</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200942735</td>
<td>0812394311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Marianne Nghidengwa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200813340</td>
<td>0813416973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Anne Seuss</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200995766</td>
<td>0813353741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Audrey Orren</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200315544</td>
<td>0812881215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lorato Khobetsi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200737023</td>
<td>0812377422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Paige Ekandjo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200727249</td>
<td>0812562376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Raimbert Muronga</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200861972</td>
<td>0812627270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Helena Udjombala</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200732323</td>
<td>0812976802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Musa Zimunya</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200996231</td>
<td>0814455972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The team comprised nine women and nine men. Ms Wilma Deetlefs, a Director in the Ministry of Information and Communication Technologies (MICT), agreed to provide students with accredited Namibian Student Press Cards.

Training for the Echoes team

A three day training workshop with students happened from the 3-5 August 2009. This three-day training marked the beginning of Phase One of the ECHOES P Student News Service: Elections Special Edition Project. Phase One will be implemented from August to October 2009, and includes the student journalists’ first trip into communities to gather stories. Training was continuous process throughout the project.

The objectives of the first three-day training is to organise and train the 2009 ECHOES student teams for their field visits to gather pre-election stories by providing the following learning opportunities:

- An introduction to ECHOES NEWS SERVICE and the 2009 ECHOES Elections Special Edition Project;
- Training on community journalism and community journalism techniques for reporting on governance, elections and communities;
- An understanding of governance structures at all levels which is central to effective reporting;
- Training on the news value of getting behind the news to report on issues of governance, politics and elections at community level;
- An understanding on how to mainstream gender into the newsgathering techniques and reporting on governance, politics and elections; and
- Training on how to use graphics and images in telling the stories on governance, politics and elections.

The teams and their travel schedules were decided on as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>TEAM MEMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 – 13 August</td>
<td>Walvis Bay</td>
<td>Linekela Halwoodi; Audrey Orren; Selma Ikela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 – 20 August</td>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
<td>Helena Udjombala; Musa Zimunya; Anne Seuss; Marianne Nghidenwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 28 August</td>
<td>Arandis</td>
<td>Shinovene Immanuel; Jimmy Rukanira; Goderich Sikwana; Paige Ekandjo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be pointed out that even though Walvis Bay was scheduled to be the first town to be visited, the Town Council informed Ms Xoagus-Eises that they would not be available to receive her and the students as a result of another urgent meeting which had been scheduled. The trainee journalists who were, therefore, supposed to travel to Walvis Bay, were accommodated on trips to the other towns. In addition, the town of Otjiwarongo was added to the list of towns to be visited. The decision to include Otjiwarongo was based on the fact that The Namibian had requested that they would appreciate having towns covered where they did not have a bureau or correspondent stationed. It was also selected because this was the only northern town included.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>TEAM MEMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 – 17 September</td>
<td>Berseba</td>
<td>Tofrei Dube; Uerikoha Tijjombo; Raimbert Muronga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – 24 September</td>
<td>Karasburg</td>
<td>Audrey Orren; Goderich Sikwana; Georgia Kock; Selma Ikela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 – 27 September</td>
<td>Otjiwarongo</td>
<td>Lorato Khobetsi; Vimbai Karumazondo; Lukas Johannes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 – 01 October</td>
<td>Koës</td>
<td>Linekela Halwoodi; Uerikoha Tijjombo; Raimbert Muronga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The students’ stories were carried by *The Namibian* and *New Era* newspapers.

**Focus group discussions**

Every reporter received a set of questionnaires, which had to be completed during their stay in their respected constituency. These questionnaires served as the catalysts in obtaining story ideas. The information from these questionnaires was also used to shape a picture of the major issues concerning each constituency.

Most of the constituencies identified the same problems. The issues included HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancies, cases of extreme poverty, gender inequality, prostitution, rape, health, housing and education etc. The five main issues were unemployment, under-development, substance abuse, housing and crime.

Table one provides a summary of the issues in each area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>INTERVIEWEES</th>
<th>ISSUE ONE</th>
<th>ISSUE TWO</th>
<th>ISSUE THREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berseba/Keetmanshoop</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karasburg</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Poor housing/Fire hazard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koes</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arandis</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otjiwarango</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80% Unemployment</td>
<td>Under-development</td>
<td>Crime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The stories: Echoes election coverage**

The following stories were generated by the trainee journalists during their visits to the six Namibian towns located in the North (Otjiwarongo), in the West (Swakopmund and Arandis) and in the South (Berseba, Koës and Karasburg). A total of 30 stories were produced.

**Otjiwarongo**

- Boxing big in little gym (Lorato Khobetsi)
- Health in Otjiwarongo (Vimbai Karumazondo)
- Otjiwarongo Dreams of another Centre (Vimbai Karumazondo)
Arandis
- Arandis Youth Upbeat about Sport (Paige Ekandjo)
- Do Representatives address the Issues? (Shinovene Immanuel)
- Statutory Rape in Arandis? (Jimmy Rukanira)
- Government absent in Arandis (Jimmy Rukanira)
- To Vote or not to Vote (Shinovene Immanuel)

Berseba
- Berseba – A Community at Risk (Tofirei Dube)
- No Trust – No Vote (Raimbert Muronga)
- The Plight of Pensioners (Raimbert Muronga)
- Community Projects Ensure Development (Tofirei Dube)
- The Roadman – Making a Difference (Tofirei Dube)

Swakopmund
- Business Ideas Abound in DRC (Anne Suess)
- Life on a Dump (Anne Suess)
- Housing a priority for DRC Residents (Helena Udjombala)
- Speed Humps the Answer to Road Safety in Swakopmund (Marianne Nghidengwa)
- DRC Settlement Commit to Education (Musa Zimunya)
- Pregnancy in the DRC Settlement (Marianne Nghidengwa)
- Service Delivery in the DRC (Musa Zimunya)

Köes
- Substance Abuse on the Rise in Koes (Linekela Halwoodi)
- Bucket-System Blues in Koes (Tjijombo Uerikoha)
- Temperatures Rise Over Koes Housing (Linekela Halwoodi)
- The Homeless of Koes (Linekela Halwoodi)

Karasburg
- 2010 Dawns on Karasburg (Georgia Kock)
- Prison Haven (Goderich Sikwana)
- Westerkim A Forgotten Community (Georgia Kock)
- Shebeens Synonymous with Vice in Karasburg (Audrey Orren)
- Unemployment a Reality in Karasburg (Selma Ikela)
- Housing on the Karasburg Agenda (Selma Ikela)

The Women in Politics and the Media workshop was held three weeks before Namibia went to the polls (November 27 and November 28) 29-30 October 2009. Prior to the elections Namibia was among the top three SADC countries in terms of female representation in Parliament at 30.8%, this is still far from the SADC member states target of 50% representation of women in all areas of decision making by 2015.
Namibia has signed and ratified the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which further binds the country to domesticate the Protocol into national legislation and mandates the country to become more accountable to its citizens, especially women citizens.

During the week of the workshop for women politicians in Namibia, civil society groups under the auspices of the Women’s Leadership Centre in Windhoek held a historic first Women in Dialogue with Political Parties, where parties had to present their positions on gender equality and other issues important to women voters. Political parties responded to the following issues during their presentations:

- Prevention of violence against women
- Freedom from hunger and poverty for all
- Access to affordable housing, water and electricity for all
- Access to land and water for the rural poor
- HIV prevention and treatment of HIV and AIDS
- Comprehensive health provision, including dental and mental healthcare
- Quality education for all our children and quality informal and adult education
- Promotion of respect and dignity for all, including lesbian and gay people
- Provision of safe and accessible abortion to save women’s lives and curb baby dumping
- Uranium mining and the safety of people in the Erongo Region as well as the environment

The civil society and other participants to the event came from all the 13 regions of the country and are participants in the Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign, which has put political parties on notice that women are 52% of the voters in Namibia and that the implementation of international, regional and national gender conventions, protocols, laws and policies is an essential component of the government’s accountability to Namibian women.

Fourteen political parties contested the elections. The country uses the First-Past the Post electoral system for presidential candidates, while the 72 seats in the country’s National Assembly are contested through the Proportional

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2 Women’s Leadership Centre, Press Release, First for Namibia: Political Parties to Present their Positions on Gender Issues in Namibia
Representation (PR) electoral system. Research by the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) has shown that the PR system coupled with special measures such as voluntary party quotas, legislative quotas and reserved seats for women, is the most effective worldwide for increasing women’s representation in parliament.

Women’s poor positioning on the lists of the majority of the parties, including the ruling party SWAPO which currently makes up the majority of the 30.8% women in Parliament, and the fact that there is no legislative quota, are worrying concerns to women politicians and women activists.

The objectives of the one and a half day workshop were as follows:
- To identify media issues of concern to women in politics;
- To empower women politicians with practical skills to deal with the media; and
- To empower women politicians with knowledge on how to relate issues on gender equality and women’s rights to national development and their own areas of concern.

These objectives were met through a programme that focused on introducing women to the articles and provisions of the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and illustrating how the protocol’s articles cover many of the issues that can improve the lives of women, men, girls and boys in Namibia; and, through sessions that focused primarily on tips and pointers for women politicians on how to make news; how to engage the media; and how to strengthen their understanding of the media in order to engage it more effectively as women in public life. See workshop programme in Annex C.

Seventeen women from ten of Namibia’s 14 political parties attended the workshop. All of the women were standing as candidates for Member of Parliament in the November polls and several of the women were high on their party’s lists. The parties represented in the workshop included the All People’s Party (APP), the Congress of Democrats (Cod), the Democratic Party of Namibia (DPN), the Namibia Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC), the National Democratic Party (NDP), the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP), the Republican Party (RP), SWAPO, the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Communist Party. One of the women held the post of Vice-President in the Namibia Democratic Movement for Change party.

Women, politics and the media

During the run-up to the Namibian polls, the Namibian mainstream media carried several news reports on women’s positions on the parties’ lists, and The Namibian carried a gender analysis of the parties’ manifestoes in its 30 October 2009 edition. Women politicians who attended the Gender Links workshop noted that they still do not have equal access to the media. They cited issues like lack of training on how to deal with the media, as well as state-media unwritten policies that do not provide equal access to all political parties as some of the barriers to more media coverage of women politicians.

Gender Links’ first study on women in politics in Southern Africa, "Ringing Up the Changes: Gender in Southern African Politics” illustrated that among other issues, understanding and being able to work with
the media is key for women politicians to leverage themselves more effectively.3

Gender Links has held a series of workshops since 2004 with women politicians and the media in countries holding elections. For women politicians, the workshops seek to train women politicians to build relations with the media and to empower them with practical skills to engage with the media.

It is against this backdrop that GL conducted the October 29-30 workshop with women politicians. In some countries, these workshops organised by Gender Links have included journalists, and this provides a unique opportunity for the women politicians and journalists to have direct and frank discussions on the media. However, given the timing of the workshop, many newsrooms were unable to participate and senior and post-graduate journalism students at the Polytechnic of Namibia were sitting exams and also unable to take time from work.

**Issues covered**

The learning areas in the workshop included the significance of the SADC Protocol on Gender for accountability to gender equality and women’s rights and as a measure for obtaining a gender-responsive democracy; and the importance of the SADC Protocol on Gender for women politicians and for women as MPs. The Roadmap to Equality DVD and a power point presentation on the key provisions of the SADC Protocol on Gender were used to guide the discussions.

The SADC Protocol presentations led to discussions on how many of the articles and provisions in the Protocol address many of the issues that women civil society group’s in Namibia put on the agenda of political parties to respond to during the upcoming elections. The discussions also focused on whether the manifestoes of the parties the women belong to focus in-depth on issues of gender equality and women’s rights, and the need for women politicians to work more strategically within party structures to ensure that more women are in all decision-making structures of the party and that women use their influence as members of political parties to incorporate gender equality and women’s rights in political parties’ programmes and policies.

The media learning areas introduced during the workshop included: how to use the SADC Protocol on Gender to communicate issues on gender equality and women's rights to the media and constituencies; understanding how the media covers women in politics and a basic understanding of news; tips and pointers on how women in politics can engage the media and make news; tips and pointers on how to communicate effectively as women politicians; how to write profiles; interviewing techniques; and how to write press releases and hold press events.

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3 Susan Tolmay, Media essential to fifty percent women in leadership by 2015, commentary on the Gender Links Opinion and Commentary Service
The women politicians also were introduced to a male editor’s perspective of why women politicians fail to make news and given pointers on how to approach media gatekeepers and to work with journalists.

The session on interviewing techniques was organised with assistance from two journalism students in the Depart of Media Technology at the Polytechnic of Namibia and a lecturer in the department. The women were put into several interview scenarios – one-on-one; panel discussion – with the student journalists. Each interview was recorded and then played back for the entire group to view and listen to in order to evaluate together.

The main areas of concern raised by the female politicians in discussions during the one and a half day seminar included:

- Whether Namibia could realistically reach the SADC target of 50% women in decision-making by 2015 and what measures women should begin to advocate for to make a difference in the 2014 Namibian general elections;
- How is freedom of expression guaranteed and, what does this right mean in reality for women and for women politicians;
- The need for women politicians to talk with “on voice” even when they are from different parties;
- How can women gain access to the media?
- How can women candidates get more access to airtime on NBC?
- The need for more in-depth training for women politicians on the international and regional gender equality instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Optional Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa, the SADC Protocol and even on the provisions of the Namibian Constitution; training in communications and media; and training on how to be effective within political parties.

Field visits to media houses

On the second-day of the workshop, the women politicians held two meetings which were a direct result of discussions during the workshop. The first visit was to *The Namibian*, a leading daily paper in the country. The other visit was to MISA Namibia, a media advocacy and research organisation. In discussions on women, politics and the news, several women raised the concern of not being able to access airtime on the national broadcaster as members of opposition political parties and as women candidates. Several opposition parties applied to the High Court of Namibia to order the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation to provide equal air time to political parties in the run-up to the elections, but the NBC decided to cancel altogether free elections broadcasts for all political parties.

As a way of introducing the women politicians to key players on Namibia’s media scene and to illustrate how they can be pro-active in engaging the media, meetings were arranged with the director of MISA-Namibia and with Gwen Lister, the editor-in-chief of *The Namibian* newspaper.

Women discussed how to access the national broadcaster not only during elections, but at all times to air issues of concern to them as women politicians with the director of MISA-Namibia; and, also ask for assistance and ideas on what strategies they could use as women politicians.
from different parties to add their voices to campaigns for opening up the airwaves to a diversity of voices.

At *The Namibian*, the women discussed the role of the media in covering the elections, the portrayal of women and women’s voices in the media, as well as the media’s coverage of opposition parties and their issues. In its November 2 issue, *The Namibian* carried on page two a news article and photograph, on the Gender Links workshop and the politicians’ visit to the newspaper.

**Follow-up**

The women politicians expressed a need for further dialogue and training for women from the various political parties. Ongoing dialogues and exchanges around gender equality and women’s human rights issues could provide ways for women politicians to strategise on how to influence their parties’ political and economic agendas; forge closer ties between women politicians of all parties; and given women politicians the basis for developing “one voice” on many issues that affect Namibian women. The women noted that such dialogues should continue after the general elections in preparation for the local government elections in 2010, as well as serve as a way for women to begin preparations for the next elections in 2014.
2. GENDER AUDIT OF THE ELECTIONS

During the run-up to Namibia’s 2009 presidential and parliamentary elections, there has been a major focus on women in politics. The media has focused on women’s participation as candidates in these elections, and also has analysed the party’s manifestoes for their positions on gender equality and women’s rights. And, women’s civil society organisations grouped under the Women’s Leadership Centre in Namibia launched a major campaign in October to remind political parties of women’s power as voters (52% of the voters are women) and their rights as citizens.

The role of civil society organisations in keeping governments accountable to gender equality and women’s rights as essential tenets of good governance is as crucial as that of the media. The media’s watchdog function should include holding governments accountable to the commitments they sign to advance and protect women’s rights as citizens, such as the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).
The media also has a role to play in promoting the fair and balanced reflection of the views and voices of women and men in the elections, both as voters and as candidates. Civil society organisations can work proactively with the media by conducting gender audits and analyses of the elections before, during and after the elections, and by providing commentaries, opinion pieces and pointers that prompt more gender aware coverage.

Gender Links, a Southern African NGO that coordinates the Southern Africa Protocol Alliance, and the Namibian chapter of the Gender and Media Southern African (GEMSA) network organised a one-day working group for GEMSA-Namibia members to introduce them to tools to monitor the media from a gender perspective; to conduct a gender analyses of politics and elections processes; and tips on how to develop press releases for the media.

This is the first time a working session of this nature has been organised in Namibia and it provided the opportunity to test the contents and tools in new manual for civil society on *Gender, Media and Elections* produced by Gender Links.

See *Annex F* for the workshop programme and *Annex G* for the participants list.

**Issues discussed**

The introductory quiz on the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development revealed that the majority of the 17 participants were largely unfamiliar with the articles and provisions of the Protocol, and many did not know that the Protocol had been adopted by SADC leaders in 2008. Therefore, introducing the participants to the articles and provisions of the Protocol and how these provisions relate to the areas in which the NGOs worked comprised one of the key learning areas of the session.

The SADC Protocol target of 50% women in decision-making by 2015 was discussed more in detail, given the upcoming elections and the current status of women in Namibia’s parliament at 30.8%. The facilitator led a discussion with participants on Namibia’s electoral systems and the types of special measures and quotas that are needed to push Namibia closer to the 2015 goal. The second key learning area revolved around key issues for understanding gender and the media, and the media’s coverage of women in politics. Using the newspapers of the day, participants were divided into groups and conducted two monitoring exercises: (a) the first was to monitor the voices and perspectives in all of the front-page news stories and (b) in the second exercises, the participants monitored the voices, perspectives and images of women in all news stories on politics and elections. The majority of the voices, perspectives and images in both cases were those of men across the three newspapers monitored – *The Namibian, New...*
Era and the Republikein – and several of the participants noted after the exercise that this was the first time they had paid attention to who speaks in the media.

The election forecasting exercise provided the participants with the opportunity to analyse first-hand where women were situated on the parties’ lists and to discuss what the potential outcome of the elections could be for women politicians and many of the opposition parties. Fourteen parties are contesting in the November polls and 13 of the party lists were available for this exercise (only the Communist Party’s list was unavailable). The guide to the exercise in the Gender Links manual provided clear directions on the methodology for conducting the forecast.

Participants were divided into two groups. This proved to be very useful as a form of comparison to check the “realistic nature” of the forecasting. Based on the exercise with the civil society groups in this workshop, the following are a few suggestions to be added to the guidelines in the manual:

- A note should be flagged to the facilitator to ensure that all, or a large majority, of the party lists are secured for the forecasting. If all of the party lists are not available, guidelines on how the forecasting should be adjusted or qualified should be given;
- Some pointers on how participants should approach “the percentage vote a party is expected to receive” would help to prevent speculation that may not be in line with the current political reality. For example, in this first exercise, one group speculated well beyond some of the smaller parties’ current representation in the parliament. Through discussion and comparison with the other group, participants were able to see the potential errors made in this area which could affect the forecasting.

This exercise took most of the afternoon. Participants then discussed how to turn the forecast into a press release by identifying the key ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘when’ and ‘where’ of constructing a news story.

At the end of the workshop the NGOs present issued a press release for the media. See Annex H. The press release was delivered to media houses by the GL local government facilitator, Ms Sarry Xoagus-Eises, who was invited to participate in several media interviews on the forecast of a decline in women’s representation in the 2009 elections.

See Annex I for the workshop evaluation.

Gender equality and the election

Gender equality and an elected government’s accountability to women as citizens was a crucial issue in the 2009 Namibian general elections. Civil society organisations under the umbrella of the Women’s Leadership Centre (WLC) took a concerted and proactive step to engage with political parties on issues of gender equality in the run-up to the November elections.

In October, the WLC launched the “Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign” demanding implementation of the country’s National Gender Policy, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Optional Protocol to the African Charter on the rights of women in Africa, and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.
Reminding political parties that women constitute 52% of Namibian voters, civil society groups working in the areas of gender equality and women’s human rights also convened a dialogue where politicians were asked to state their parties’ stance on gender equality and development issues of priority to women across the country.

Of major concern to gender equality and women’s rights activists is the “second-class” citizenship status Namibian women still retain 20 years after independence. “Twenty years after independence women are still seen as second-class citizens, with less access to resources, income, land, decision-making power and personal freedoms than men,” the campaign states in its brochure. “Enough is enough! Political parties take note of our demands. We are holding Government accountable for adhering to all of the national and international gender laws and policies it has signed over the past 20 years.”

The key demands of the “Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign” are⁴:

- Freedom from violence and discrimination
- Freedom from harmful cultural practices and beliefs
- Freedom from hunger and poverty
- Access to resources and services
- Freedom from preventable diseases and access to quality healthcare for all
- Freedom from HIV and AIDS
- Access to quality education and training

On paper, Namibia shows strong commitment to gender equality and women’s rights, but in practice the government has been slow in improving the situation of women across all sectors in line with the international and regional instruments it has signed.

Namibia, for example, is one of the three Southern African countries that have already ratified the 2008 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which has a specific target of 50% women in all areas of decision-making by 2015, and is in line with the African Union (AU) 50% target. Yet there is a glaring gap in Namibia’s electoral practices with regard to women’s representation at the local, national and regional level.

Namibia’s Constitution creates a framework that recognises discrimination against women and their marginalisation in society, and requires that measures be taken to redress these substantive inequalities.⁵ Article 10 provides for formal equality before the law for women and men and outlaws discrimination based on sex, among other things; and Article 23(2) empowers Parliament to enact legislation that leads to the “advancement of persons within Namibia who have been socially, economically or educationally disadvantaged by past discriminatory laws or practices...” while Article 23(3) permits “regard to the fact that women in Namibia have traditionally suffered special discrimination and that they need to be encouraged and enabled to play a full and effective role in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the nation.”⁶

⁴ Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign brochure, Women’s Leadership Centre, Windhoek, Namibia, October 2009
International research, as well as regional studies on gender in national and local governance conducted by Gender Links shows that the Proportional Representation (PR) is most favourable to improving women’s representation in Parliaments.

In Namibia, the PR system is used to elect members of the National Assembly (lower chamber of Parliament) and the local authority councils. Members of the National Council (upper chamber of parliament) and the regional councils are chosen using the First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) system (constituency-based system).

Despite its commitment to increasing the representation of women in decision-making, there is no legislative quota for women at the national level, nor at the regional level (at this level women constitute only 11% of the total). At the local level, however, there is a legislated quota of 30% and SWAPO adopted a zebra list system (alternating one woman, one man on the list) which resulted in electing 43% women at the local level in the 2004 local elections. These varying electoral systems and uneven use of special measures to push more women into positions create a scenario where women’s representation can slide backwards. Namibia’s local and regional elections will be held in 2010.

Women politicians from various parties who participated in a Gender Links seminar on “Women in Politics and the Media”, held in Windhoek on 29-30 October, expressed concern that Namibia may not reach the SADC Protocol gender target of 50% women by 2015 if special measures such as a legislative quota are not put in place for national elections by the time of the next general polls in 2014.

**Gender analysis of party lists**

The Electoral Act 1992 requires a political party to submit a party list with at least 24 and not more than 72 names.

In their submissions as per this Act, political parties already signalled that the representation of women was not high on their agenda. Only three of the 14 political parties showed a serious commitment to gender on their party lists – The Communist Party (65% of its 29 candidates were women and 60% of the women were in the top 10 names on the list); and the CoD and NDP utilised “zebra lists” alternating women and men throughout.\(^7\)

SWAPO, which accounted for the majority of the 30.8% women who were MPs before the elections, had only two women in the top 10 of its 72-member list. Overall there were 23 women on SWAPO’s list, a poor showing for the party favoured to win the elections and which, as head of government over the last 20 years, has signed international and regional gender equality instruments committing the country to achieving gender equality and equal representation of women.

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\(^7\) Gender Research & Advocacy Project, Legal Assistance Centre, published in Election Watch, produced by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), Issue No. 7, 2009
Gender analysis of party manifestoes

The Gender Research and Advocacy Project of the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia compiled a comparison of gender issues in ten of Namibia’s 14 political parties, published in Issue No. 7 of Election Watch produced by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). The Namibian newspaper also did a gender analysis of party manifestoes in its coverage leading up to the national elections.

According to the Gender Research and Advocacy Project’s analysis, the most comprehensive programme on gender is presented in the manifesto of the National Unity Democratic Organisation of Namibia (Nudo), but on the whole, the parties’ manifestos fail to mainstream gender throughout their policy discussions. References to women are found in discussions of gender-based violence; on increased representation of women in decision-making bodies, and a few make reference to women’s economic contribution or their role in child-bearing. But gender issues are not integrated into the parties’ discussions of broad issues like health, land ownership, agricultural production, environmental issues and economic and development policies.

Table two: Analysis of gender issues in party manifestoes

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<td>All People’s Party (APP)</td>
<td>The manifesto includes a section entitled “Gender Equality at all levels”. This section says that APP “is for total gender equality”. It cites the following specific policies:</td>
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<td>• “50/50 in decision making structures must become a reality in our lifetime”. APP undertakes that every minister will have a deputy minister of the opposite sex, and that there will be 50/50 balance in the management cadre of the public service, in all positions of state-owned enterprises, and in local authorities. APP will also offer incentives to private companies which implement a 50/50 policy.</td>
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<td>• “tax incentives for people who employ domestic workers in order to ensure working women do not have to suffer when they have small children.”</td>
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<td>• Gender issues are not specifically mentioned in any other sections of the manifesto.</td>
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<td>Congress of Democrats (CoD)</td>
<td>The manifesto includes section entitled “Valuing the Contribution of Women”. This section says that women constitute the majority of the population but that society “still does not fully value the contribution of our women.” It notes that women are victims of “violence, rape and passion murders” and asserts that “Government has done little over the last 20 years to mainstream women’s causes into the country’s development agenda”. It cites the following specific policies:</td>
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<td>• “Put a premium on women’s contribution to society. This is the only way</td>
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8 Gender Research & Advocacy Project of the Legal Assistance Centre, in Election Watch, Issue No 7, 2009, Produced by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)
9 Gender Research & Advocacy Project of the Legal Assistance Centre, in Election Watch, Issue No 7, 2009, Produced by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)
10 Gender Research & Advocacy Project of the Legal Assistance Centre, in Election Watch, Issue No 7, 2009, Produced by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)
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<td>Communist Party</td>
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<td>Democratic Party of Namibia (DPN)</td>
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<td>Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) of Namibia</td>
<td>The manifesto includes a section entitled “Gender issues” in the section of the document on basic principles of policy. This section says that the DTA “is committed to the total elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and their complete recognition in all spheres of society.” The DTA recognises women’s careful role in the domestic, economic and political spheres, and promises to “actively pursue equal rights for women before the law”. It furthermore “recognises the leading and stabilising role of the women of Namibia in society and will support their cause in all walks of life”. There are no other specific mentions of gender. A summarised version of the manifesto published by the party contains no references to gender issues at all.</td>
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<td>Monitor Action Group (MAG)</td>
<td>The policy document of MAG calls for clear definitions in the Namibian Constitution for the concepts “equal opportunities” and “free association”, and pledges to “get rid of quotas based on race, ethnicity or gender.” This is the only mention of sex or gender.</td>
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<td>Namibia Democratic Movement for Change Namibia</td>
<td>The manifesto includes a section on “Women empowerment.” It says that the party will set up a commission which will promote the representation of both men and women in government and private institutions, as leaders and on decision-making boards, “so that women can play a very big role which man are playing currently and by not discriminating women as they are our mothers who are taking care of men from a baby-boy to become a boy or a man.” In the section on representatives in Parliament, NDP pledges 50/50 men and women on its party lists for Parliament and local authority elections.</td>
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<td>National Unity Democratic Organisation of Namibia (NUDO)</td>
<td>Nudo’s overall aim includes a commitment to create a society “where justice is accessible and the rule of law applied to all” irrespective of gender. The manifesto contains a lengthy section on “Gender and Women Empowerment” which opens with the statement that Nudo “is truly committed to equality between women and men”. Because women constitute a majority of the population, “all problems affecting Namibian society are affecting women the most”. The manifesto also cites specific problems affecting women: domestic violence, rape, poverty and unemployment (especially amongst rural women), HIV and AIDS (which affects women most severely), illiteracy and ignorance. These problems make women more prone to alcohol and drug abuse. Ignorance of their</td>
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<td>rights causes women to be lacking in self-confidence. It cites gender disparities in access to power and decision-making across various spheres as a source of differentiated development for males and females. The manifesto states a commitment to “revitalizing women’s roles in social, economic, cultural and political arenas”, and says that under a Nudo government “women shall be free to choose their own paths to self-fulfilment and responsibilities to their families and communities”. It cites the following specific policies:</td>
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<td>• Strengthen legal instruments to protect women, review and repeal laws which discriminate on the basis of gender and strengthen legal obligations of paternity</td>
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<td>• Enquire equality in property and inheritance rights</td>
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<td>• Introduce a human rights education programme that will sensitise society to women’s rights</td>
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<td>• Introduce special schemes for female-headed households</td>
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<td>• Remove barriers to women’s access to credit and provide training to increase the productivity of women in the informal sector</td>
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<td>• Provide incentives to companies and groups that support women’s economic projects, especially in rural areas</td>
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<td>• Introduce special health clinics for women, increase women’s capacity to promote their own health and ensure the delivery of sexual and reproductive health services</td>
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<td>• Make education and training more accessible to women and make educational curricula gender-sensitive at all levels, starting with pre-school</td>
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<td>• Train women in assertiveness &amp; leadership to increase their self-confidence so that they can compete effectively with men for leadership positions in schools</td>
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<td>• (10) Use short-term affirmative action to facilitate women’s entry into fields where they are most under-represented</td>
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<td>• (11) Introduce education programmes that raise women’s political consciousness and educate both women and men to recognise the abilities of female candidates</td>
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<td>• (12) Implement quotas in the electoral system to ensure fair representation of women in local and national government.</td>
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<td>The foreword to the manifesto notes Nudo’s concern “for women who have been marginalised”. The section on education mentions the problem of teenage pregnancies. The section on disabilities identifies women with disabilities as a priority group (amongst others).</td>
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<td>Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP)</td>
<td>The manifesto contains a section on “Women and Youth”. With respect to women, under the subheading “prevention of violence against women and children”, RDP promises to promote public awareness of the evils of violence and crime against women and children. Related policies are: To “introduce awareness programmes at all levels of the educational system” To collaborate with community, traditional and religious leaders and NGOs</td>
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| Republican Party of Namibia (RP)           | “to fight the scourge of violence” and To“impose stiffer sentences on those who rape women and children”. Under the subheading “women’s empowerment”, RDP promises to increase the role of women in government “to participate in key decisions and make policy work”, in order to address the concerns of women more adequately and boost development by improving the health and education of women. Related policies are:  
  - To strive for at least 50% representation of women in government, and the party’s own “political and organizational activities”  
  - To “promote and increase the retention of women in education”  
  - To “increase public information to stop practices that harm or discriminate against women”  
  - To “make reproductive and other female health issues central to social and health policy”  
  - To “enact legislation to safeguard the dignity and rights of women and to “effectively return” to affirmative action policies for women” The section of health mentions the increase in infant and maternal mortality, and specifically mentions the prevention of mother-to-child transmission as a component of its HIV and AIDS strategy. The section on the economy mentions homelessness women and youth as the two priority groups for a national housing strategy. The section on corruption and crime once again highlights violence against women and children. |
| SWANU of Namibia                           | The manifesto does not mention gender. However, the section on health mentions the promotion of preventing mother-to-child transmission as a component of an educational programme on HIV and AIDS |
| SWAPO Party of Namibia                     | The manifesto includes a section on “Promotion of Gender Equality and Equity”, which says that “gender mainstreaming and the equitable representation of women in positions of power will remain a priority” and that SWAPO Party will “intensify the implementation of laws and programmes to combat violence against women and children and will ensure that offenders in this regard shall face the full force of the law.” It cites the following strategies:  
  - continue to improve policies affecting professional and working women, “including the improvement of maternity leave benefits and the creation of child-friendly working environments”  
  - “provide leadership to all structures of society in gender mainstreaming along with equal access for women to all socio-economic and political activities and in the enforcement of laws prohibiting gender-based violence” Both the section on economic management and sustainable growth and the section on social upliftment and empowerment mention the need to ensure that finance for small and medium enterprises is available to female entrepreneurs (amongst others). The section on health pledges to improve and expand reproductive healthcare for pregnant women to reduce |
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<td>maternal mortality rates.</td>
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<td>There are two points pertaining specifically to women in the section of the manifesto on past achievements:</td>
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<td>• HIV prevalence in pregnant mothers fell from 22% in 2002 to 17.8% in 2008.</td>
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<td>• In 2005, Namibia exceeded the SADC target of 30% women representation in parliament, reaching 30.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF)</td>
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**Women as voters**

Leading up to the elections, opposition parties raised concerns about discrepancies in the voters’ roll, insufficient funding to political parties for political activities and unbalanced State media coverage of political parties, especially on the part of national broadcaster Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

The Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN), established in 1992, is responsible for all electoral activities including voter registration and education, political party registration, candidate nomination and conducting of the polling. Two females and three males constitute the five-member ECN.

Civil society organisations and opposition parties raised concerns regarding the voters’ roll for the elections. One of the concerns was that the voters’ roll was not updated and included names of people who had died. The ECN, however, said that this had no impact on the election processes.\(^\text{11}\)

The number of voters on the voters’ roll was said to be 822,344, according to information political parties indicated they had received from the ECN.\(^\text{12}\) This election held particular significance because for the first time, young women and men born after the first democratic elections in 1989 were able to vote. This group, called the “born frees” was estimated at around 300,000.

**Election outcome**

In an election forecast in early November, Gender Links and the Gender and Media Southern African Network (GEMSA)-Namibia chapter predicted a decline in women’s representation from 30.8 to 25% due to the lack of a quota for women at national level and the fact that political parties failed to ensure equal representation of women on their party lists for the 2009 polls.

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\(^\text{12}\) Nangula Shejavali, Opposition parties claim ‘possible rigging’, The Namibian, Tuesday December 1, 2009
“Twenty years after independence, the public spaces, the state and key institutions are still dominated by men. We need a critical mass of women at all levels of governance who are prepared to support one another across party political boundaries to ensure that legislation of importance for all women is passed and implemented,” said Anna Beukes, Executive Director of the Namibian umbrella organisations for NGOs, NANGOF, in her address to the “Women in Dialogue with Political Parties Forum” held during the run-up to the elections.

Table three: Comparison of women’s representation between 1994 and 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total seats</th>
<th>Women’s seats</th>
<th>% women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A look at the last 20 years of Namibia’s political history shows that there has been no progress in terms of women’s representation in parliament as shown in table 1. Between 1994 and 2009 there has been a marginal increase of 4%. The figures below exclude non-voting appointments by the President. It will take nothing short of a miracle to achieve parity by 2015. This raises concern for a country which has failed to honour commitments outlined in several policy documents which Namibia is signatory to.

Table four: Regional ranking of female parliamentarians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Proportion of women in parliament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Namibia</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.4%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table six shows that Namibia ranks fifth compared to other SADC countries with regard to women’s representation in parliament. South Africa, with 42.7% of women in parliament, is closest to achieving the 50% target.

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13 http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2225_94.htm
3. GENDER, MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

Giving voice to both women and men is not only essential to democracy, but constitutes a fundamental human right. Media monitoring is a useful tool to assess whether the media includes gender perspectives and the voices of women and men in election coverage. It also provides an opportunity to assess how effective the media training impacted on journalists.

This report is based on two months of media monitoring conducted in Namibia from 15 October to the 15 December 2009. Ten monitors from Gender and Media Southern Africa Namibia (GEMSANAM) conducted the monitoring. Twelve media houses were monitored: Base FM; Economist; Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) - Radio; NBC TV; New Era; One Africa TV; Republikein; Southern Times; The Namibian and Namibian Sun.

Table five: Number of election stories monitored

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIA</th>
<th>TOTAL ELECTION STORIES</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base FM</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economist Newspaper</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia Broadcasting Corporation - Radio</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia Broadcasting Corporation - TV</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Era</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Africa TV</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIA</td>
<td>TOTAL ELECTION STORIES</td>
<td>PERCENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republikein</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Times</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Namibian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibian Sun</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>337</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is evident in table five the lowest proportion of election coverage was in the community radio station Base FM with 2.4% election coverage. The *Economist*, NBC Radio and The Namibian had less than 5% election coverage during the monitoring period. The highest proportion of election coverage was in the *Republikein* with 23.4% election coverage followed by NBV TV with 20.8% election coverage.

**Key findings**

- Women’s voices constituted 19% of news sources in the Namibia election media monitoring.
- The ruling party, SWAPO, dominated the election news coverage at 48%.
- The media covered the electoral process rather than the issues that were of most interest to communities. Topics such as unemployment, under-development, substance abuse, housing and crime.
- Ordinary citizens did feature as news sources after party representatives and experts.
- Women constituted 43% of ordinary citizens interviewed.
- More men (7%) than women (2%) were identified by a personal tag.
- Consistent with the Glass Ceiling and GMPS Namibia women constituted 42% of those reporting on elections.

**Topics and issues**

During election events and official speeches dominate the news at the expense of the ‘real’ issues that politicians and the media should be addressing. This is a trend that is evident in all the countries where GL and GEMSA has conducted media monitoring before, during and after the election. The results in Namibia are similar to the rest of the region.
The top five topics in Namibian election coverage were ‘Election procedures’, ‘Campaigning by the ruling party’, ‘Polling and voting’, ‘Election outcomes’ and ‘Campaigning by opposition parties’. The five topics that received the least amount of coverage were ‘Corruption and government’, Economics, Poverty, ‘Election funding’, Health and HIV and AIDS.

It is evident from these findings that the topics of most interest to communities such as unemployment, underdevelopment, substance abuse, housing and crime were largely absent from media coverage.

The PON students wrote articles about the issues that communities raised during the focus discussions. This article appeared in the New Era.

The media needs to be in touch with its audiences and the issues that affect them. Elections are an important time to hold decision makers accountable and ensure that citizens’ issues are on the political agenda. Effective service delivery is a critical election issue.
Coverage of political parties

Figure three: Coverage of political parties in the Namibian election

Figure three shows that the ruling party, SWAPO, received substantially more media coverage (48%) in the period before, during and after the Namibian election. The official opposition, RDP, received 10% of media coverage. The huge difference between coverage of the ruling party and other parties points to the need for more balanced coverage of different parties.

Sources of news

Figure four: Women and men as news sources in election stories in Namibia
In the 2009 election monitoring women constituted 19% of news sources in election coverage. This figure is similar to the findings of the 2010 Namibia GMPS which found that women constitute 20% of news sources in the media generally. This figure is low and needs to increase if Namibia is to achieve the 50% women in all aspects of the media by 2015. The media needs to look at putting a framework that addresses issues of gender in the media.

Figure five: Women and men as sources by country and media house

Community radio station, BASE FM, had the highest proportion of women’s voices (38%) in election coverage followed by the Economist Newspaper with 33%. National broadcaster NBC TV sourced 26% women in election coverage while NBC Radio was very low at 13%.

Function of sources

Figure six: Function of sources
Figure six shows that party representatives or officials (36%) were sourced most in the Namibia election coverage closely followed by experts or commentators (31%). It is encouraging to see that the media did source the views of ordinary citizens (15%). While this figure is low and should be improved in future election coverage it is better than other countries that have had elections such as Malawi and Botswana where citizens hardly featured.

Figure seven: Function of sources by sex

Figure seven shows that the highest number of women sources (43%) were in the category ‘ordinary citizen’. This finding points to the fact that journalists actively sought women’s voices as citizens. Of concern though is that female candidates received little or no coverage. Also, only 20% women were sourced as experts and commentators. Given the launch of the WLC “Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign” and the GL training with NGOs, the media had access to many female experts.

Sources mentioned by personal identity

The media often identifies sources in relation to their family status such as “daughter of”, “son of” or “wife of”, rather than covering individuals in their own right.
The election media monitoring results for personal tags in Namibia is different from results in other research projects. More men (7%) than women (2%) were identified by personal tags. Only two media, *Republikein* and *Namibian Sun*, identified women and men by personal tags. There were high proportions of both women (20%) and men (46%) identified by personal tags in the *Republikein*. Only women were identified by a personal tag in the *Namibian Sun*.

### Number of female and male reporters across media

The *Glass ceilings: Women and men in Namibia media* found that women constitute 40% of all employees in media houses. The Namibia GMPS found that women constitute 42% of those reporting in the sample.
Consistent with the findings in the Namibia Glass Ceilings and Namibia GMPS, the election media monitoring found that 42% of the reporters were women. *New Era* had more female (58%) than male (42%) reporters reporting on elections. *Namibia Sun*, NBC TV and *Republikein* had between 43 and 45% women reporting on elections. Only men reported on the election in Base FM.

The monitors did not identify the sex of the reporter in NBC Radio and the *Economist* newspaper.

The gender imbalance is partly a reflection of inadequate numbers of female reporters in newsrooms. However, it is also a reflection of editors’ preference to assign male reporters to cover political stories rather than women, who are assigned to soft beats.
4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results for women’s representation in the Namibian elections were disappointing, going down from 30.8 to 24.4%. The gender, media and elections project in Namibia highlighted several important successes, challenges, and lessons that will guide forward processes.

Key successes

The gender, media and elections project in Namibia had four specific target groups. These included:

- Journalism students from the Polytechnic of Namibia who are part of the campus based Echoes News Service;
- Citizens in communities;
- Women politicians;
- Senior students and civil society organisations.

GL worked with student journalists to build their capacity to do in-depth issue-based reporting as opposed to event-driven reporting. Event-driven reporting tends to dominate election coverage ignoring the voices and issues affecting citizens.

The student journalists travelled to six communities in Namibia and held focus groups. The members of the communities spoke about what they felt were the key election issues. Their priorities included unemployment; under development; substance abuse; lack of housing and issues of safety including fire hazards and crime.

As explained in the analysis of media coverage during the elections, the top five topics in Namibian election coverage were Election procedures; Campaigning by the ruling party; Polling and voting; Election outcomes and Campaigning by opposition parties. None of these topics reflect the needs of the communities surveyed.

The student journalists produced 30 stories covering the key priorities of the communities and other stories about hope and possible opportunities. A detailed account of the stories produced is included in the overview. One of the students who participated in the project is Anne Marlen Suess. Suess presented a case study of the project at the Gender and Media Summit in October.
2008. In her presentation she highlighted how important it was for the students to speak to members of the community directly and hear their perspectives. She also emphasised the value of primary research and shaping stories for multi-media platforms from the findings.

As part of their training, the student journalists took part in a workshop to train women politicians on how to engage with media strategically and effectively. The workshop included both practical skills, such as interviewing, and knowledge, such as how the media works.

One of the participants in the training said: “The interviews were very useful as I am not really a speaker and it helped me to see what it would be like.”

For many of the participants it was the first time they had been part of a gender, media and election workshop. They saw this as a beginning and requested further capacity building.

A new dimension to the training incorporated civil organisations. The participants were able to comment on and analyse all aspects of the election from a gender perspective. This kind of analysis plays two important roles: it is newsworthy and it measures political parties’ gender commitment.

The group conducted a gender analysis of the parties’ manifestos, party lists and the election outcome. They then issued a press release predicting the proportion of women that would be entering parliament. The civil society prediction was 25% and the final proportion of women in parliament is 24.4%.

The gender analyses of the different aspects of the election proved newsworthy. Participants in the workshop were interviewed as commentators. This proved to be very effective to ensure that the media included gender in the election coverage.

**Key challenges**

After achieving the then SADC target of 30% women in Parliament after the 2004 election there was confidence that Namibia would forge ahead and increase the number of women in Parliament. This hope did not materialise. The challenge facing political parties is to ensure that women get on party lists at electoral colleges held prior to the elections.

To ensure 50% women on party lists every party needs to adopt a voluntary 50/50 quota system. At another level, political parties, civil society organisations and other stakeholders need to lobby for legislated quotas as a key strategy to increase and maintain women’s representation in government.
Another key gender dimension of elections is around how the media covers issues of gender. Women made up only 19% of news sources during the elections.

Citizens were clear about their priorities: unemployment; under-development; substance abuse; housing and crime. These topics were largely ignored in the election coverage.

Media coverage did not interrogate political parties’ gender commitment. Most party manifestos spoke of the promotion of women, but there was little analysis on this topic in media coverage.

Women candidates received less coverage than their male counterparts including the only female presidential candidate.

Lessons learned
- Lobbying and advocacy for the 50/50 representation of women and men at all levels of decision making, as articulated in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, cannot happen only during election periods.
- Ongoing media monitoring and engagement with the media is necessary to increase the proportion of women sources in the media.
- The voices and views of citizens have to be an integral part of journalism.
- Women politicians need sustained capacity building in different skill and knowledge areas.

Next steps
- Start a concerted 50/50 campaign ahead of the 2014 election.
- Lobby for legislated quotas for the representation of women and men in all political parties.
- As part of the 50/50 campaign, work with women politicians to grow their skills and knowledge in leadership and other related areas.
- Fostering gender mainstreaming in news coverage requires both short- and long-term measures. Short-term measures should include the introduction of short courses on gender reporting, targeting both junior and senior journalists, including editors. The long-term solution is to change the curricula of media training institutions to include gender reporting components so that students internalise these important skills early in their careers.
## ANNEX A: ECHOES POLYTECHNIC NEWS SERVICE
## ELECTIONS SPECIAL EDITION
## Editorial Organisation and Training Programme
## Polytechnic of Namibia
## 3-5 August 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY/DATE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monday, 3 August 2009</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>8:30 – 9:00</td>
<td>Registration of Students</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 – 9:30</td>
<td>Introductions, Programme and Training Objectives</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 – 10:30</td>
<td>Organisation of Field Teams, Overview of ECHOES Elections Special Edition</td>
<td>Ms. Emily Brown, Head of Media and Technology, Dept. PON; Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 – 11:00</td>
<td><strong>TEA BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>Community Journalism: Key Issues</td>
<td>Ms. E. Gomez de Sibandze, Lecturer, PON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 - 13:00</td>
<td>The Newsworthiness of Issue-oriented Reporting: Elections = More than an Event</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00 - 14:00</td>
<td><strong>LUNCH</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 15:30</td>
<td>ECHOES Election Coverage: The Value the Students News Service Brings to Namibia’s Mainstream Media</td>
<td>Mr. Jonathan Beukes, First Editor of ECHOES News Service and Supplement Editor, The Namibian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30 - 16:00</td>
<td>Review of Key Points from DAY One</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tuesday, 4 August 2009</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 10:30</td>
<td>Politics, Governance and Elections: Namibia’s Governance and Elections Systems</td>
<td>Mr Willie Olivier, General Manager, Namibian Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 - 11:00</td>
<td><strong>TEA</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 – 11:30</td>
<td>Election Coverage from Communities: The Stories We Look For – An Editor’s Perspective</td>
<td>Mr. Christof Maletsky, Deputy Editor, The Namibian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30 - 13:00</td>
<td>Newsgathering Techniques *Sources *Verification of Information *Interviewing</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00- 14:00</td>
<td><strong>LUNCH</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 16:00</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion Developing interview/focus group questions</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL +ALL (GROUP WORK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wednesday, 5 August 2009</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 – 9:30</td>
<td>Review of Field Interview Questions</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Training Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAY/DATE</td>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td>FACILITATOR</td>
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<tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Facilitator, GL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 – 11:00</td>
<td>Photojournalism: Capturing the Right Images</td>
<td>Mr. Trevor Davies, Photojournalism Trainer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 – 12:00</td>
<td>Overview of Guidelines and Logistics for August ECHOES Field Teams</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Ms Emily Brown + ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-12:30</td>
<td><strong>Evaluation/ END OF TRAINING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANNEX B: ECHOES TRAINING HANDBOUTS

The elements of journalism

- Journalism’s first obligation is to the truth.
- Its first loyalty is to citizens.
- Its essence is a discipline of verification.
- Its practitioners must maintain an independence from those they cover.
- It must serve as an independent monitor of power.
- It must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise.
- It must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant.
- It must keep the news comprehensive and in proportion.
- Its practitioners have an obligation to exercise their personal conscience.
- Citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news.

Interviews

Interviews = a method used in journalism and qualitative research to collect information on people’s perceptions, beliefs and motivations.

- Key point: The use of interviews as a data collection method begins with the assumption that the participants’ perspectives are meaningful, knowable, and able to be made more explicit, and that their perspectives affect the success of telling the story.

Purpose of interviews

There are several purposes that an interview can serve:

- To gather information in response to research objective or in the case of journalists, to gather information for the basis of reporting on an event, issue
- Test hypotheses or suggest new ones by helping the researcher (journalist) to identify variables, areas of interests, issues and relationships
- Can be used in multi-method designs to follow-up unexpected results and to probe issues of interest
- To capture the voices and perspectives of citizens on issues
- To understand an issue more in-depth
- To verify facts and information obtained elsewhere (documents, from speaking to other individuals, other news media reports, and so forth)

Types of interviews

- Structured
- Semi-structured
- In-depth or unstructured

Five key questions

- What should be asked?
- How should the questions be asked?
- How should the information obtained be recorded?

What procedures should be used to assure the accuracy of the interview?  
What relationship should exist between the interviewer and the interviewee and how can such a relationship be established?

Focus groups  
*Focus groups* = basically brainstorming sessions and are most appropriate when:
- You want specific people (or types of people) to generate new ideas about a topic
- You are exploring an area of research and want to explore the range of opinion about it
- You have already done individual interviews which may have thrown up specific issues which you wish to explore in the larger group
- You are considering developing a survey and want to know the terminology and language that people use to talk about and think about the issues the survey will cover

*Key pointers for organising a focus group*
- **Size:** Depends on the purpose, but generally between 4 and 8 people is most manageable
- **Areas to be covered:** You should have a handful (5-6) to be covered in the discussion. Too many points to cover can mean you halt discussion on some points before the more interesting ideas are brought out or developed. Too few points can mean that the discussion takes on a life of its own, and the areas of interest to you are not addressed.
- **Role of moderator:** Your role is to lead the discussion and keep it focused on the areas of interest to you.

Accuracy checklist

Accuracy is essential to good journalism to ensure that the reporter and the media retain credibility. The following checklist provides some questions that can help the reporter verify facts and check his or her story to avoid deception, sensationalism, and inaccurate reporting. Remember: the essence of journalism is a discipline of verification.15

- Is the lead of the story sufficiently supported?
- Is the background material required to understand the story complete?
- Are all the stakeholders in the story identified and have representatives from that side been contacted and given a chance to talk?
- Does the story pick sides or make subtle value judgments?
- Will some people like this story more than they should?
- Have you attributed and/or documented all the information in your story to make sure it is correct?
- Do those facts back up the premise of your story? Do you have multiple sources for controversial facts?
- Did you double-check the quotes to make sure they are accurate and in context?
- Did you check that all first references in your story have a first and last name?
- Have you checked ages, addresses and titles to make sure they are correct?
- Do time references in your story include day and date?

Anonymous sources

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15 The Elements of Journalism, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, Three Rivers Press, New York, 2001, 2007. pg. 79; This check list is also drawn from Kovach and Rosenstiel’s chapter on Journalism of Verification
The general rule is to use sources who are ‘on the record’ and as much as possible avoid the use of anonymous sources – these have become the bane of political reporting in much of the African media. Here are some questions reporters and editors can use to decide whether a source’s identity should be withheld and also to gauge whether the source is credible:

- How much direct knowledge does the anonymous source have of the event?
- What, if any, motive might the source have for misleading us, or hiding important facts that might alter our impression of the information?
- Is the source’s information essential to the story?
- Is the information fact, not opinion or judgment? (Never use an anonymous source to offer an opinion of another person.)
- Is the source in a position to truly know what he or she is telling you – is this an eyewitness?
- What descriptors (other information about this person) can you use so the audience can decide what weight to assign this source?
- What other indicators of reliability are there (multiple sources, independent corroboration, experience with source)?
## ANNEX C: GENDER, MEDIA AND ELECTIONS
### A Training Workshop for Women Politicians in Namibia
#### October 29-30, 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAY/DATE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thursday, 29 October 2009</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 – 9:00</td>
<td>Registration of Participants</td>
<td>Ms. Sarry Xoagus-Eises, GL/GEMSA country facilitator and representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Official Welcome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 – 9:30</td>
<td>Introductions, Programme and Objectives</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 – 10:00</td>
<td>SADC Protocol on Gender: DVD viewing</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 – 11:00</td>
<td><strong>TEA BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>Highlights of Key Issues Raised in SADC Gender Protocol and relevance for Namibian Elections</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 - 13:00</td>
<td>Women, Politics and News: Key Issues</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00 -14:00</td>
<td><strong>LUNCH BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 15:00</td>
<td>Engaging the Media: Why women politicians need to engage with the media</td>
<td>Mr. Moses Magadza, former Editor of the Southern Times and freelance editor and writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00 - 15:30</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Mr. Magadza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Friday, 30 October 2009</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30 – 9:00</td>
<td>Review of Day One</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 – 9:30</td>
<td>How to Engage the Media: Talk facts, Talk Figures, Talk Impact, Talk Values!!</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30 – 10:30</td>
<td>Becoming Media Savvy – Things You Can Do</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30 – 11:00</td>
<td><strong>TEA BREAK</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:30</td>
<td>Media Interviews/Interviewing Techniques</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL + PON Media Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:30 - 13:00</td>
<td>Final Remarks/Evaluation/</td>
<td>ALL</td>
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<td>13:00 - 14:00</td>
<td><strong>LUNCH /END OF WORKSHOP</strong></td>
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### ANNEX D: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Political party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patricia Sitali</td>
<td>National Democratic Party of Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernestine Harases</td>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lena Nakatana</td>
<td>All People’s Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marizka Brendell</td>
<td>All People’s Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irene Loberlooth</td>
<td>Democratic Party of Namibia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephne Isaak</td>
<td>Democratic Party of Namibia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hileni M. Kalola</td>
<td>Rally for Democracy and Progress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magdalena Amgat</td>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sophia Nowases</td>
<td>United Democratic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nadia Beukes</td>
<td>Communist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frances F. Basson</td>
<td>Rally for Democracy and Progress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria da Conceicao Lourence</td>
<td>Namibia Democratic Movement for Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.G. Makgone</td>
<td>South West Africa Peoples’ Organisation (SWAPO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M. Growases</td>
<td>Republican Party of Namibia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hilde Tjueza</td>
<td>Republican Party of Namibia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelago Kondomb</td>
<td>Congress of Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda Kamberipa</td>
<td>Congress of Democrats</td>
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ANNEX E: SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS

Namibia Women in politics workshop
29-30 October 2009

<table>
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<td>Learning Opportunity</td>
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<td>Networking opportunity</td>
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<td>Administrative arrangements</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Herewith participants’ responses to additional questions of the evaluation Form:

1. Which session did you find most useful? Why?
   - All the sessions were useful
   - Interviews – practical training
   - The engagement of the media; Learn to know different media types
   - I learnt alot. It was good.
   - SADC Protocol. It’s so unique!
   - All
   - Everything was great!!
   - Tips for getting media coverage; electoral systems
   - The art of good communications
   - The interviews were very useful as I am not really a speaker and it helped me to see what it would be like.

2. Which session did you find least useful? Why?
   - None
• None, every topic was vital
• None, because it was meaningful
• Everything was useful
• None
• None
• None
• None
• None
• N/A
• None

3. How will you apply what you have gained from this engagement?
• Will inform and train women in my party
• I will apply it whenever it comes my way with confidence
• Make use of the media in my areas and also keep in mind that I had to present my people.
• I will share with my fellow women
• By going back and share information and apply
• Start with women leaders at party national level and spread the information down to all party structures
• Now I am going to Parliament, I am well equipped; give back to my communities what I have learned here!
• Will have to start early with using all media contacts to use them effectively when needed
• Very fruitful
• I’ll take all information and this I’ll be more equip to answer question or/and how

4. Any other comments
• Keep up the good work, and the facilitator of the workshop has been fantastic. Would like to recommend her for any other workshop in SADC.
• Keep up the good work and have more follow-up workshops
• Time was just limited
• I thank you for this workshop. It has opened my eyes and I have learned and gained through you.
• It’s the first time to attend such a workshop; it was really an eye opener. It has equipped us with very much needed skills and would like to have the same trainings offered.
• It was great!! Continue with these workshops please. Time was to short!!!
• Would like to have follow-up of the workshop
• Keep it up!
• Very informative workshop, thanks to the facilitators and organisers; very helpful.
## ANNEX F: PROGRAMME

### GENDER, MEDIA AND ELECTIONS
A Training Workshop for Civil Society
3 November 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>FACILITATOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30 – 9:00</td>
<td>Registration of Participants and Introductions</td>
<td>Ms. Sarry Xoagus-Eises, GL/GEMSA country facilitator and representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 – 9:15</td>
<td>Programme and Objectives</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15 – 9:30</td>
<td>Exercise: SADC Protocol on Gender and Development</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30-10:00</td>
<td>SADC Protocol: Key Facts</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00-10:30</td>
<td>Women, Politics and the Media</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator, GL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-11:00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 – 12:00</td>
<td>Deconstructing news: Monitoring Exercises</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 -13:00</td>
<td>Exercise: Election forecasting</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00-14:00</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 -14:45</td>
<td>Exercise: Election forecasting finalize</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:45-15:30</td>
<td>Writing Press Releases + Preparing Press Release</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30-16:30</td>
<td>Strategy for delivering Press Release to the Media</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30-17:00</td>
<td>END OF DAY/EVALUATION</td>
<td>Ms. Pat Made, Facilitator/ALL</td>
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</table>
# ANNEX G: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jemima Beukes</td>
<td>Catholic AIDS Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Gaweseb</td>
<td>Namibia Consumer Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metusalem Neib</td>
<td>Namibia Consumer Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Schimmung</td>
<td>NAWA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marianne Erastus</td>
<td>NWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Ais</td>
<td>CEDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Gam-Gaebel</td>
<td>CEDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Gam</td>
<td>CEDA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengzeth Uwuseb</td>
<td>CEDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welma Uwites</td>
<td>CEDA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Mukuzunga</td>
<td>Freelance Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monika Thobias</td>
<td>YWCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi Shikongo</td>
<td>YWCA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Da Conceicao Lourence</td>
<td>Namibian Women’s Lobby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevelia Nanghama</td>
<td>YWCA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANNEX H: PRESS RELEASE FROM NGO WORKSHOP

Namibia: Women in parliament likely to decline despite regional commitments

WINDHOEK, November 4: Despite the flurry of media coverage on women in politics during the 2009 elections, Namibia may witness a decline in women’s representation in parliament from 30.8 to 25% in the 27-28 November polls, according to an election forecast by Gender Links and the Gender and Media Southern African Network (GEMSA)-Namibia.

This decline follows even more dismal news from Botswana where the proportion of women in parliament dropped from 14 to 22% in the May elections. In South Africa, the proportion of women in the house of assembly shot up from 33 to 44%, making South Africa one of the few countries in the region with a hope of achieving the target of 50% women in political decision-making by 2015 in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Results from the Mozambique election held last week are still coming in.

Gender in the 2009 elections has been a newsworthy topic with Namibia’s mainstream media publishing stories on women’s participation in politics, their placement on parties’ lists and gender analyses of the political parties’ manifestoes. And, more than 30 civil society organisations have joined hands with the Women’s Leadership Centre to mount the ‘Women Claiming Citizens Campaign’ launched in October.

“Twenty years after independence women are still seen as second-class citizens, with less access to resources, income, land, decision-making power and personal freedoms than men,” the campaign says in its widely circulated flyer. “Enough is enough! Political parties take note of our demands. We are holding Government accountable for adhering to all of the national and international gender laws and policies it has signed over the past 20 years.”

But even though women activists remind political parties that women represent 52% of the vote, the fact that Namibia still has no legislative quota for women at the national level, and the poor showing of women on some of the major political parties’ lists could swing the elections in an unfavourable direction for women, according to an analysis by NGOs participating in a one-day workshop on Gender, Media and Elections organised by GEMSA-Namibia and Gender Links, a Southern African NGO that coordinates the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance that campaigned for the SADC gender protocol.

For example, SWAPO which accounts for the majority of the current 30.8% of women has only two women in the top 10 of its 72 member list. Overall, women make up 32% of those on the party list (23 out of 72).

Gender Links and GEMSA-Namibia’s members based their election forecast on an analysis of the lists of 13 of the 14 political parties; only the Communist Party’s list was not available. The NGOs looked at the total number of women on the party list, the percentage of women overall, the projected number of seats a party would likely get in the upcoming elections and the percentage of women on the party lists likely to go through.
There is a glaring gap in Namibia’s electoral practices with regards to women’s representation at the local, national and regional level. At the local level, where elections are held on a proportional representation system; there is a 30% quota for women, and SWAPO has adopted a zebra style or 50/50 on its lists, women constitute 42% of all councillors. At regional level, where elections are run on as constituency basis and there is no quota, women constitute a mere 11% of the total.

The PR system at national level favours women’s representation but the absence of legislated or voluntary party quotas at this level is militating against the achievement of the SADC parity target. In the 2004 elections, women constituted 26% of MPs, and this rose to 30% during the subsequent years as a result of women replacing male MPs who dropped out of parliament for one reason or the other. Reaching the original SADC target of 30% gave rose to hopes Namibia would push the envelope further in the 2009 elections.

Following the 2009 election, there is only one more election (in 2014) before the 2015 deadline. Gender Links and GEMSA-Namibia have urged political parties to look beyond 2009 and adopt voluntary party quotas for women of 50%, and for activists and the public to increase pressure on the government to institute a legislated quota for women. “If the pressure does not continue even after these elections, we will never change the representation of women in government,” said Marianne Eratus, a GEMSA-Namibia member.

For more information contact: Ms. Sarry Xoagus-Eises, GL local government facilitator and GEMSA country representative, mobile: 081 2209216
ANNEX I: WORKSHOP EVALUATION

The following provides the feedback from the participants on the workshop. Nine of the 16 participants completed the evaluation forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
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1. Which session did you find most useful? Why?
   - Politics, because it has opened my mind; was brainstorming.
   - Election forecasting; why – interesting and educating
   - Political party prediction
   - Prediction of women participation in parliament
   - Gender and election forecasting, because it’s a new skill and the impact is massive in terms of alerting voters and politicians
   - The part on women in media because I am rather surprise to see female journalists have not converted despite calling themselves feminists

2. Which session did you find least useful? Why?
   - Media; was the first time for me.
   - There was none.
   - SADC Protocol on Gender’s accountability
   - Well the time was too little but all sessions were useful

3. How will you apply what you have gained from this engagement?
   - Get involved in my party and change.
   - Yes, but it will be very difficult to individually send predictions
• Will use it later in like whether writing a letter to the media. If questioned about the methodology will refer to the Gender Links workshop and put the Gender Links predictions
• Electoral education
• I am more aware and will take three tips: Talk facts; talk reality; shadow GRN (NGOs can write shadow CEDAW reports on government’s performance)

4. **Any other comments**
   • We need to have a follow-up workshop
   • Very good exercise, it is very educative and it is very informative. Taxi money; energisers
   • Facilitator friendly, professional and knowledgeable even on Namibia
   • Arrange regular workshops
   • Would love to attend more of this